[301-cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

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2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

[301 cont.]

The Little Horde

631 619 611 At its time of origin the Little Horde was composed of the powerful Alchin descent line and of seven small tribes, which, during the [302] civil wars and reprisals (baranta (1)), were not

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1. Among the Kazaks, the name baranta is given to the raids they make against each other, most often as reprisals or as a consequence of hereditary vengeances.

strong enough to resist the Alchin descent line, which was more numerous, but were combined by the famous Tiavka, khan of the Kazaks, into a single descent line which is known today as that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod). The ancient name of Alchin is still found in Khan Abulkhair's correspondence with the Russian government in the first half of the last century. This descent line was composed of two stocks, called Alimuly, that is "the sons of Alim," and Baiuly, that is, "the rich sons." Later the new subdivisions which took place in this horde caused the generic name to fall into oblivion. But the names of the two stocks, to which the name of the descent line belonged equally, survived. For this reason the Little Horde is divided today into three principal parts, namely: I. The Alimuly descent line; II. The Baiuly descent line; III. The Djetir-urug descent line, or that of the Seven Tribes (Semirod).

1. The Alimuly descent line is composed of six tribes, whose names are Kara-Sakal, Kara-Kissiek, Kitie, Dört-Kara, Chumekei, and Chikly.

II. The Baiuly descent line is composed of the following 12 tribes: Adai, Djapas or Yapas, Alacha, Baibakty, Maskar, Bershch, Tazlar, Issentemir, Cherkes, Tana, Kizyl-Kurt, and Shikhlar.

III. The Seven Tribes (Semirod) descent line is composed of tribes which are called Tabyn, Tama, Kerdery, Djagal-Baiuly,

[302 cont.]
631 Kereit, Tiliau, Ramadan (2).
619
611

2. Some sections of the Middle Horde camp with the Little Horde, and likewise [303] some sections of the Little Horde are mixed with the Middle Horde. This fact does not destroy the genealogy of the nation.

[303]

The Middle Horde

The Middle Horde is divided into four descent lines: I. The Argyn; II. The Naiman; III. The Kipchak; IV. The Uvak-Girei.

The latter, like the Seven Tribes descent line, was formed by that same Khan Tiavka out of three tribes which will be named below.

I. The tribes of the Argyn descent line are Kara-Kissiek, Karavul-Kissiek, Chardjitim, Djandjar, Chakchak, Dört-Avul, Atygai, Altai, Tebich, Tabakly, Borchi, Karpak, Bassantien, Agysh-Kalkaman, Kandjigali, Koziugan, and Kukshal.

II. The tribes of the Naiman descent line are Ak-Bura (1),

1. Ak-Bura means "white wolf."

Bulachi, Kara-Girei, Tirs-Tamgaly, Dört-Avul, Kuk-Djarly, Irginiekly, Semis-Baganaly (2), and Sadyr.

2. Semis-Baganaly means "those who have fat lambs."

III. The tribes of the Kipchak descent line are Tori-Aigyr, Tuiuchka, Kytabak, Bultun, Karabalyk, Kundelien, Tana-Buga, Uzun, Kuk-Boron.

IV. The Uvak-Girei descent line is made up of the tribes of Uvak, Girei or Kirei, and Tarakly.

[303 cont.]

The Great Horde

631 The Great Horde originally was composed of the Uisiun or
619 Usiun, Tulatai, and Sargam descent lines. Later the Konrat or
611 Kunrat descent line detached itself from the Middle Horde and joined the Great Horde.

From these first descent lines the following tribes issued: Botboi, Chimir, Djanis or Yanysh, Sik-Am, Abdai-Suvank, [304] Sary-Suly, Chanych-Kily, Kanly or Kankly, Djalair, etc.

II. The Konkhrat descent line formed the following tribes: Bailar-Djandjar, Uras-Geldy, Kuldjegach, Bochman, Tok-Bulat, Yaman-Bai, Kura-Kusia, Etimlier, Kuyush-Kansyz.

Each of the tribes is divided into sections. A section is composed of parts, and the latter also have their subdivisions, and all have different names. For example, the Maskar tribe of the Baiuly (in the Little Horde) descent line has two sections, namely: Kutlu-Gadam and Massak. The Kutlu-Gadam section is made up of two parts called Kurman and Baba-Nasar. The Kurman part has three subdivisions, which are Atamkan, Umier, and Kudaigul. The Baba-Nazar part has two subdivisions: Abdu-Shokur and Djidik.

What a volume the names of all these subdivisions for the three hordes would make! Without wearying the reader with such
761 an enumeration, it will suffice to say that the increase of popula-
178 tion among the Kazaks is constantly giving rise to new subdivisions, and that the original names of the descent lines will end up by being lost. In this manner, the Baiuly and Alimuly have ceased to bear their generic name of Alchin. It also develops from this that there are Kazaks who do not know what descent line they belong to and know only the name of their tribe and their section.

It can be concluded that in a hundred years most of the names of the Kazak branches which we have cited will no longer exist except in the Russian archives and in the memory of a few old men.

565 In addition, these subdivisions concern only the common
611 people. The upper class has another genealogy. This is why
643 the Kazaks divide themselves into two estates, the White bone

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

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2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1] See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Mukanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorezin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kasakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

The culture history of Asia is by its nature conducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central feature of Kasakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for considerable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kasakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

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[5] Radlov, Obraztsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6] Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7] Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

[1] [cf. AH/Mongolia, Cat. IIb, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

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61 security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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611 Turkic savants, such as Abulgazi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a completely genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

lineage to its horde is the relation of a son to the father in the case of the senior line of the horde."[12] That is, hordes act as persons, lineages act as persons, senior lineages are as father to filial junior lineages, mutually ranked according to the principle of primogeniture operating among the founders. In the same passage, Valikhanov finds operative among lineages and hordes the relationship of uncle to nephew, the significance of which will be left to later discussion of cognatic relationships. It is interesting, although not by itself decisive, that another characteristic of corporate structures, their status as persons, is also implied by Valikhanov.[13] It is not decisive because evidently Valikhanov is consistently arguing by analogy from relationships within the family, such as fraternal, filial, paternal, avuncular-nepotal, etc., in order to account for relationships among descent groups. But it is consistent with the total picture that such an analogy is available, and in fact necessary for the Kazakh philosopher to account for his system of social relations.

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[12] Valikhanov, 286.

[13] Lévi-Strauss in his article, Social Structure, discusses the use of native as opposed to scientific models of the social structure of a society. Valikhanov affords an instance of a native model with a significant advantage, that he has described a conceptual scheme which integrates family, lineage, and other relations. The five Confucian relations likewise are called to mind as examples of native models of this order.

[Great Horde]

565 but they admit of certain distinctions: the right of priority, the right to this or that cut of meat served at feasts. To this end there are the two great divisions of the people, the white and black "bones." The white bones are the descendants of Chingis Khan and of certain other great Khans, and also of the disciples of Mohammed, who bear the name of Saïd or Khodji. So far Dingelstedt.[73] Now, the white bones are not actually incorporated members of a given clan, and are in this respect different from the Khalkha Mongols, whose white bone are of two sorts, those who are members of their clan as nobility and leaders, and those who are of princely rank, above the ordinary aristocracy, and trace descent in the direct line from Chingis Khan. The Kazakh nobles are similar only to the latter class of Khalkha nobles.

611 619 565 But even removing the white "bone" into a descent line of their own[1] does not solve the problem of reconciling two apparently contradictory principles of social structure: one, the common line of descent of all Kazakhs from one ancestor (Dingelstedt's "noble origin"); and two, the division into bones. Specifically, at what point did the unifying principle become divided? To resolve this problem, reference can only be made to the composite nature of Kazakh society and Turko-Mongol society generally, namely, to the principle of consanguinity

[73] Dingelstedt, 146.

1 [Cf. Cat. #6, AHI Mongolia, pp. 400-403 -- Analyst]

611 through the paternal line which unites each of these
619 societies, and to the existence of a kind of state which
565 is composed of ruling and ruled strata. And finally, it has been already suggested that the clan itself functions in part as a clan, and in part exemplifies certain quasi-state features. Insofar as the clan performs functions according to principles of the kinship system, it is relevant to our consideration; but the complications of a state-like character remove it to that extent from our consideration.[74]

619 The Kazakh clan, in the Great Horde as elsewhere, had other bonds than the genealogical tie, and other functions than the politico-military. Where a line died out without issue, the property passed to the clan.[75] Presumably the property was administered by the clan elders. The clan had a system of identifiable signs, such as earmarks in common, whereby the members distinguished their livestock from those of other clans. These earmarks, called tamga, were not a sign of clan property, but a sign of the clan affiliation by the owners of the stock.[76]

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[74] Izraztsov, 26. He writes that the clan was a political unit, a unit of military defense, which declined after Russian pacification. Smaller units remained after the clan declined, held together by common interests. In addition to external causes, the clan system had been weakened by intestine wars.

[75] Izraztsov, 27.

[76] Kharuzin, Bukeev Orda, col. 148. Cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 455-456; and Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 412-416, for reproductions of the clan earmarks for the Great Horde, and for the Kazakhs generally.

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulating marriage settlements, although he had little authority over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Israstsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The forces of his

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[92] Israstsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. --Analyst]

[Great Horde]

judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost' were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for recognising and preserving the legal integrity of the kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie, and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various auls, or persons belonging to different families, auls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. ch, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an sul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
604 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Little Horde]

631 616 619 divided into seven clans. The foregoing is the version given by Radlov.[172] Aristov, on the other hand, reports simply the existence of ten clans in the Little Horde, and mentions no more inclusive groupings than these. One of his groups is named the Alchin, however.[173] Radlov further indicates that according to his data, the Alchyn were further subdivided into two sub-divisions, the Alim-uli and the Bai-uli, the Alim-uli again into six sub-units, and the Bai-uli into ten. A part of the Bai-uli broke away from the Little Horde, moved across the Ural River through an agreement between their leader Bukei and the Russians, and occupied the steppe between the Ural and the Volga which had formerly been the pasture land of the Kalmuks.[174]

611 619 The elucidation of the functions of these greater divisions of Kazakh society, the horde and its principal segments, are mentioned briefly in this context merely to indicate that the web which tied them together was a common patrilineal descent, traced back to immemorial time by oral tradition to a mythical ancestor. Eventually all Kazakhs are agnatically related in this manner.

161 The combined Little and Inner Hordes numbered about 190,000 families according to various estimates between

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[172] Radloff, op. cit., 237-241.

[173] Aristov, op. cit., 350.

[174] Radloff, op. cit., 237.

1 [Cf. cat. 619, p. 462 -- Analyst]